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# WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, JUNE 24, 1852

On our outer form is published, at the request of several friends, an "Address to the Anti-Slavery Christians of the United States signed by a number of influential citizens. withstanding its length. In a late New York the venerable ex-Chief Justice Hornblower, of New Jersey, which refers to this address as follows "In every word of Anti-Slavery sentiment and doctrine contained in that address, I most cordially and entirely sympathise. A HEAVY NUMBER -The National Conventions fortunately come to pass only once in four years. Our readers will therefore excuse us for devoting so much of this number to their proceedings. The ballotings in the Democratic Convention, which occupy nearly the whole of

our fourth page, are placed on record for reference. Our inside pages are nearly filled with the history of the acts and sayings of the late Whig Convention, and an examination of the two platforms of the old parties. Very rarely does it happen that our paper is so crowded with long articles; but this num-

ber it seemed necessary. We were anxious to clear our table of important political matter, so that we might, as soon as possible, be able to furnish the usual variety to our readers.

#### UNCLE TOM'S CABIN

Copies of this work are for sale at the office of the National Era, on 7th street. Price—in pa-per covers, \$1; cloth, \$1.50; cloth, full gilt, \$2. Persons at a distance of not over 500 miles can have this work in paper covers mailed to them free of postage, on addressing L. Clephane, at this office, and enclosing \$1 in money and 27 cents in post office stamps—over 500 miles the postage will be 54 cents.

### CONGRESS

Congress transacted no business last week owing to the meetings of the Whig Convention. Both Houses met once or twice, to adjourn Tuesday last they again met. The Senate was chiefly employed in Executive session: the House gave the quietus to Bennett's bill for Land Distribution, and adjourned without doing anything else of importance.

## NATIONAL CONVENTION

Notice is hereby given, that a National Convention, consisting of Delegates of the Free Democracy, will assemble at the city of Pitts burgh, on Wednesday, the eleventh day of August next, at noon, for the purpose of selecting candidates for the offices of President and Vice President of the United States. Friends of the principles declared at Buffalo, at the memorable Convention of August, 1848, are requested. within their respective States and Congressional Districts, to meet and elect Delegates, wherever the same has not already been done-each State being entitled to three times the number of its delegation in the Congress of the United

By order of the General Free Soil Committee. Samuel Lewis, Chairman.

Washington, June 19, 1852.

The attention of the friends of Liberty throughout the country is called to the foregoing announcement. Where are the three hundred thousand voters who in 1848 cast their votes against the o'd parties, on account of their subjection to Slaveholding rule! Where are the thirty thousand Liberty men in New York, who voted with the Radical Democracy. with the understanding that the principles proclaimed in Buffalo in 1848 were to be the basis of the Party! Are they disposed to follow the lead of John Van Buren and Henry B. Stanton, in the support of a candidate pledged by the platform to resist the agitation of the question of Slavery in Congress and out of it. ander whatever shape or color-whether in the shape of free discussion by the press, action by ecclesiastical hodies, or opposition to the annexation of Cuba, or division of California on Anti-Slavery grounds !

Let us hear from them on the 11th of Au

And what say the Whigs who are tired of the yoke? How do they like their Compromise platform ! Do they feel like swearing by the finality of that Fugitive Law, which they have denounced as a foul blot on the statute

Let us hear from them, too, on the eleventh

been selected as the place of meeting, instead of CLEVELAND, as originally announced. The change was made in accordance with the unanimous opinion of the friends of the Convention in Washington. The time is also fixed on the 11th, instead of the 4th of August; and this change is made to accommodate the East, where the harvests are later than in the West.

# MR. WEBSTER AND THE NOMINATION

A crowd of Scott men last Monday night waited upon several distinguished gentlemen, to congratulate with them on the nomination of General Scott-among them, Mr. Webster, who is reported to have spoken as follows:

I thank you, fellow-citizens, for this friendly call. The Convention at Baltimore have been engaged in the performance of an arduous and difficult duty. It has so happened, from the influence of circumstances, that my name has been before them in connection with others. The choice, gentlemen, has fallen upon another. In the selection that has been made, I doubt not the Convention has exercised their wisest and soundest discretion. For myself, gentlemen. I remain unchanged, the same in character, principles, and position. Of one thing, gentlemen, I can assure you, that no one among you will enjoy a sounder night's sleep than I shall. I shall rise in the morning, God willing, with the lark, and though he is a sweeter songster than I, he will not spring to the sky to greet the purpling East, more jocund and ous than I, to the performance of my duty. I can only add, that I have no personal feelings nor wishes in the matter. You, gentlemen, can hardly err in your sense of duty. With so many brilliant stars shining about you, you will not fail to perceive the way. Thanking you for this friendly attention, and with my sincere wishes for your welfare and happiness, I bid you good night.

### THE PLOTTERS IN CALIFORNIA

The pro-slavery men in California having been baffled thus far in their diabolical scheme for the overthrow of Free Labor institutions in that State, are trying to divert public attention from their own miserable intrigues by furious denunciations against the Abolitionists. They charge upon them the delay in the admission of California into the Union, knowing the charge to be grossly false. The admission of California from its first application was urgently advocated by every Anti-Slavery member of Congress, and resisted only by a faction determined to stop the wheels of Government rather than yield one hair's breadth It was the slaveholding interest that kept California out of the Union: first, with a view to run the Missouri line through it, and make the lower half of it a slave State; and secondly, for the purpose of extorting from the North, as the price of the recognition of a sovereign non-slaveholding State, the sacrifice of the Wilmot Pro-

The San Francisco Herald is specially fero cious against the Abolitionists in California.

"The public," it says, "cannot be too much on its guard respecting this wily enemy. Abolitionism must be closely watched, and every one who takes part in, or aids or abets it, should be looked upon as a public enemy, unworthy of office or support. It cannot be, that this vile incendiarism shall be permitted to have a footing in this State. Even in New Hampshire, that lowest depth of Abolitionism, that State, which was at one time so sunk in Abolitionisn as to elect John P. Hale to the United States Senate, and to be considered beyond even the hope of resurrection, that State which literally stoned the prophets' and set at nought the teachings and admonitions of the founders of the Republic and of the immortal Washington himself: even New Hampshire has returned to her senses, and has in her recent elections repudiated the vile thing. Shall we in California-the latest born of our Republican family, at this day, and with the results of fanaticism before us in the old States-shall we embark our fellow-citizens of the Southern States, in pursuit of a phantom, and for the benefit of a ew designing persons, whose only object is the poils of office! We shall see.

Pretty talk from a wild crusader against the Constitution of California and its peculiar institutions, against the rights and interests of its citizens, especially of those who earn their living by the sweat of their brows!

He is an Abolitionist of the worst and vilest kind-he seeks the abolition of freedom and free labor, and in the prosecution of this atrocious object, he would abolish freedom of speech and of the press, and proscribe every citizen who is laboring to arouse the people of California to the danger which threatens their free in-

### WHAT IS MEANT BY "FINALITY."

The following resolution was adopted by the late National Democratic Convention:

"That the Democratic Party of the Union. standing upon their national platform, will abide by, and adhere to a faithful execution of, the acts known as the Compromise measures, settled by the last Congress—the act for the reclaiming of fugitives from service or labor neluded-which act being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot with fidelity thereto be repealed or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

The Southern Whigs in caucus assembled at Baltimore, on the eve of the meeting of the late National Whig Convention, agreed upon "a platform," which was ordered to be submitted to the Convention with an earnest request that it be adopted. It contained the following resolution in relation to the Compromise, which, as finally adopted by the National Convention, stood as follows:

That the series of acts of the 31st Conress, the act known as the Fugitive Slave Law included, are received and acquisced in by the Whig party of the United States as a final settlement, in principle and substance, of the dan gerous and exciting questions which they em-brace; and so far as they are concerned, we will maintain them, and insist upon their strict enforcement, until time and experience shall demonstrate the necessity of further legislation to guard against the evasion of the laws on the one hand, and the abuse of their powers on the other-not impairing their present efficiency; and we deprecate all further agitation of the questions thus settled, as dangerous to our peace, and will discountenance all efforts to continue or renew such agitation, whehever, wherever, or however, the attempt may be made; and we will maintain this system as essential to the nationality of the Whig party and the integrity of the Union

The resolutions agree in regard to the Fu gitive Law. Both contain a pledge to its faithful execution " or what is the thing, its "strict enforcement." Neither excludes amendment; both admit of the possibility of amendments, provided they do no impair the efficiency of the Law. Neither asserts the principle of finality, as it respects the law : consequently, it is not regarded as a "final settlement" of the question of the rendition of fugitive slaves. The question is clearly left open, and the Whig resolutions contemplate two ways in which it might be legitimately renewed-in one, for the purpose of amending the Law, so as to prevent evasion, in the other, of so amending it as to correct abuse. The opponents and supporters of the law are left equally at liberty to agitate this

As it respects the Compromise measures (not including the Fugitive Law.) the resolutions substantially agree. Neither expresse any opinion concerning their merits; both pledge acquiescence in them. One resolve pledges the Democratic party to abide by, and adhere to a "faithful execution of," that series of acts, the other declares that they "are received and acquiesced in by the Whig party of the United States as a settlement, in principle and substance, of the dangerous and exciting questions which they embrace." All that this leclaration means finds its entire equivalent in the brief phrase of the Democratic resolve. "to

Let us look into the operation of the pledges assumed by these resolutions.

As we have seen, the principle of finality is not recognised in relation to the Fugitive Law. The policy of the Slaveholding Interest required that it should be left open to modification, the Legislature of Maryland being the first legislative body to propose an amendment, with a view to increase its efficacy.

Nor do they recognise the Compromise as a final settlement of all questions of Slavery; nothing is said or implied on this point-They are regarded simply as a settlement of the questions which they embraced. As such, the Democratic Convention resolved to "abide by" them, and the Whig Convention, to receive and acquiesce in them.

What were the questions embraced in them As it regards California, they were,

First: Shall it be admitted into the Union a sovereign State, notwithstanding the irregularity attending its organization, and the adoption of a constitutional clause inhibiting Slavery! Secondly; Shall it be divided, so as to admit the northern half of it as a non-slaveholding State, and provide for the organization of a Territorial Government in the southern half, without any clause excluding Sla-

It is a matter of record that the main effort

to effect a division of California, so as to la lavery: the proposition for division was re- proviso or any declaration respecting the lex newed, at least, half a dozen times in the Senate. But these questions were settled by the lmission of the whole of California, and as embrace, resolve, therefore, not to disturb the estion of its division with a view of allowing Slavery to occupy its southern portion-This is the plain, unmistakeable meaning of the pledge assumed in both resolutions.

Now, does any pro-slavery man really intend either House of Congress, should the conspira- ries? ev against Free Labor in California succeed so ing question :

The admission of California, with a Constitution prescribing her territorial limits, and excluding slavery therefrom, was one of the measures reported by the Compromise Committee of thirteen, and which was passed by that Congress. I desire to inquire of that gentle-man whether he, as a North Carolina Whig, stands prepared to pledge himself for the pres ent, and for the future, to resist every attempt which may be made by the people of California in a wild crusade against the Constitution and to divide that State, so as to create a slave

Mr. OUTLAW replied:

"I have to say that California, by the net to which he has alluded, is admitted a sovereign State into this Union, and that she has the same right and the same powers as any other State in this Union—that, in my opinion, whenever her people shall call upon the Congress of States to divide her territory, and they shall deem it for the interest of the country that it shall be divided, it may be done with out any infringement of the Compromise meas

In reply to the same question, Mr. GENTRY

"I will remark to the gentleman, in reply, that I stand with respect to California precisely as I do with respect to Virginia. The principles upon which a State may be divided are prescribed in the Constitution, and every State that wants slavery has a right to have it. Ohio has a right to have it now, if she wents it, and can establish it to-morrow, if she chooses.

"Mr. Campbell. I understand the gentle-man from North Carolina, [Mr. Outlaw,] to take the same position, viz: That they will not oppose the crection of a slave State out of a part of the territory now included by the Constitution of Calfornia, and I will assert, in general terms, in relation to every one of those Southern Whigs who abandoned the Whig caucus, that that is precisely their position upon this question of finality. If I am incorrect, they

Mr. CAMPBELL. They assert that it is " Mr. GENTRY. The Compromise cannot re

peal the Constitution. things, and I want it to go forth to the people of this country—ay, to this great national par-ty which is about to assemble at Baltimore that while these gentlemen invoke to their aid the veto power of the Executive of this land, to prevent the people from exercising their consti-tutional right to legislate upon the law with regard to the reclamation of fugitive slaves, they laim the right to divide that free State, which was admitted as such, as a part of this Compromise. It is to be a finality so far as the laims of the Southern gentlemen are concerned, but not a finality in regard to the admis sion of California as a free State.'

Look at the position of the slaveholders

They decline the test they impose on the North they reject the bonds they fasten upon the North; they gag and bind the North, while they hold themselves free of speech and hand to say and do what their interests may dictate. They go into National Conventions, and unite with their non-slaveholding brethren in a pledge "to abide by" the act admitting the whole of California as a non-slaveholding State, or, what is the same thing, to receive and acquiesce in said act as "a settlement in rinciple and substance of the questions it emraced," which were, shall it be divided, one half to be admitted as a non-slaveholding State, the other organized as a Territory, with o proviso against Slavery, or shall it be adnitted entire, as a non-slaveholding State !-And then coolly announce their purpose to act upon one of these questions, whenever it may suit them, just as if it had never been settled, and as if they had not pledged themselves to abide by" that settlement! This is the alue of your finality tests! The answers of Messrs. Outlaw and Gentry

eave us in doubt in regard to their views on he subject of the division of a State. They seem to think that a State has a right to divide tself, and that its application for the sanction of Congress to such division is imperative. They do not say this in terms, but their language implies it. What says the Constitution

New States may be admitted by Congress nto this Union : but no new State shall be formed erected within the jurisdiction of any other ite, nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of Congress." - (Sec. 3. Art. iv. Fed. Con.)

A new State cannot be formed within the urisdiction of California, first, without the consent of its Legislature, then, the consent of Congress. Should the Legislature give consent, and the Constitution of California be so amended as to make this consent effectual, Congress would be still left free to give or withhold consent, according to its discretion. All the other preliminaries having been complied with, the parties concerned would have a right to ask the consent of Congress, but not to require it; and Congress could withhold consent, without a denial of their rights. Mr. Outlaw, Mr. Gentry, Mr. Toombs, and those gentlemen who have insisted upon a pledge to abide by the Compromise acts, and have themselves assumed that pledge, could not, without a violation of good faith, vote for such consent. They could not plead the force of any constitutional objection; for the whole question is left discretionary with Congress. Their pledge, therefore, not being adverse to constitutional obligation, could not be disregarded without involving a gross breach of faith.

The questions embraced in that portion of New Mexico, were settled by the passage of the act, and nobody proposes to reopen them: all parties regard them as finally settled. A pledge on this point was needless

The questions agitated in relation Territories of New Mexico and Utah were-First, Shall a clause prohibiting slavery be inserted in the acts providing governments for them ! Secondly, Shall the Mexican law for- tion of the question of slavery, as a moral or

and void? These questions were settled by pen its southern portion to the introduction of the passage of acts, without any anti-slavery to abridge or destroy Freedom of Discussion,

The Whig and Democratic Conventions assert the principle of finality in regard to these a non-slaveholding State. The two Convenions, in resolving to abide by the Compro- what they pledged themselves? Suppose sevse acts, or, in the language of the Whig eral Southern men, with a view to test the resolve, to receive and acquiesce in that series value of slave labor in these Territories, should of acts, as a settlement of the questions they carry slaves into them. A suit for free- of the cause of Despotism. Were their power dom follows, bringing the question of the leact admitting California, and not to re-open the gality of slavery before the courts, which de- as much under censorship as the submissive Would the slaveholders who voted for finality tions contemplate the possibility of amendin the Baltimore Conventions regard their ments to the Fugitive Law, to prevent evapledge, or would they not renew their old deto be bound by such a pledge! Will it be mand for an act by Congress, declaring the be effected without the agitation they pledge recognised by a single Southern member of Mexican laws no longer in force in the Territo-On the other hand, suppose the discovery

that State for division? We know it will not. considerable capital for their working, should tive Law! Does any one suppose, that should Already, members from the South, most vo- stimulate a sudden influx of slave immigration | California appear in Congress, asking a diviciferous in favor of finality tests, have boldly into the Territories, and the courts should de- sion of her territory, agitation could be proclaimed their purpose in this respect. Last cide that there was no law to exclude slavery, kept down? How are you to keep the Ameri-Monday week, in the House, while crowds of would all the Northern men who voted for can People from talking or writing about Sladelegates, on their way to the Whig Conven- the finality principle in the Baltimore Conven- very, or religious denominations from acting tion in Baltimore, were in attendance, Mr. tions regard their pledge? Whatever they Gentry of Tennessee, in an elaborate speech, might do, whatever they might suppose their gag the Era, or shut up the market for Uncle announced to the Northern Whigs the terms obligations, it is very certain that in neither of which their Southern friends would here- the supposed cases could agitation be kept strained you to adopt these wicked and absurd after consent to act with them. At the close down. In the one case, the North in the other, of his remarks. Mr. Campbell of Ohio pro- the South, would press its demand for the inpounded to Mr. Outlaw of North Carolina, who terposition of Congress. Slaveholders have had taken precisely similar ground, the follow- looked at all these contingencies; and as the question of freedom or slavery in the Territories may depend wholly upon the action of the Chief Executive or the decision of the Courts. they take security against danger in the principles of the Territorial Judges, or the character of the President. The North exacts no such security: so that if slavery should fail to obtain a foothold in Utah and New Mexico, it of the Northern People. Does any man dream that the slaveholders would sustain the nomination of Franklin Pierce, unless assured in their own minds that his election would raise no obstacle to their design upon the Territories and upon California? And who of the Northern supporters of Mr. Pierce are asking them selves what effect his election may have in promoting the division of that State, and in favoring slave-emigration to Utah and New Mexico The Slaveholders act from a Principle-a bad one, if you please, but still it is a Principlewhich gives consistency, unity, and power to their action: Northern politicians generally act from mere Party considerations, and hence their lack of consistency, unity, and forcehence their time-serving, trimming, timidity, and low expediency.

The portion of the Compromise prohibiting the importation of slaves into the District of Columbia, embraced the single question of the slave trade in this District, and settled that alone. The question of slavery in the District was not included, and is therefore left

The only remaining part of the Compron relates to the admission of new States, declaring that hereafter new States shall be admitted into the Union, no matter whether their ted into the Union, no matter whether their Mr. Toomas. No doubt of it. It ought to Constitutions exclude or tolerate slavery. To the maintenance of this policy the two Convenions by their resolves stand pledged, and any departure from it on the part of their members

would be deemed a violation of good faith. Whatever obligations are assumed by the Conventions in adopting these resolutions are assumed by their Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates, in accepting the nominations, unless they relieve themselves from responsibility for a part or all of the implied pledges, by publicly and explicitly disavowing a part or the whole. A bare acceptance of a omination, without any expression of opinion. one way or the other, is an acceptance of the platform on which it is fendered. The nomination is made with the view to render the doctrines and policy of the platform effectual, and he who accepts it with a secret intention

to render it ineffectual, is guilty of treachery. The nominees having accepted the platforms with all their obligations, it follows that every citizen who votes for them binds himself in the ame way. The Southern man who votes for them, pledges himself to oppose the division of California, not to agitate, but to acquiesce, should the Courts of the Territories decide that the lex loci excludes slavery, and to assent to the admission of any number of new States. prohibiting slavery. The Northern man who votes for them, pledges himself to silent acquiescence, should slavery grow up in Utah and New Mexico, and State after State, tolerating slavery, apply for admission into the Union, and to oppose the repeal or essential modification of the Fugitive Law-a law without warrant in the Constitution, and inhuman in its details. How many voters of the country will exempt themselves from such obligations, by re-

Let us not be misunderstood. These obligations would be of Party, not of Morality. No nan can bind himself so as to make it his duty to violate his conscientions convictions. But he may place himself in a position where, in obedience to the Law of Right, he must break a

We have shown the identity in policy of the the Compromise and the Fugitive Law, the nature of the obligations imposed by these resolves, and the extent to which they reach. We have to say that they differ as it respects agitation on the subject of slavery. The Whig It was a contest between the Scott and antiresolve does not god far as the Democratic.

"And we deprecate all future agitation of the questions thus settled, as dangerous to our peace, and we will discountenance all efforts to continue or renew such agitation, whenever, whereever, and however, the attempt may be made. The latter says-

"The Democratic Party will resist all at

tempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the Slavery Question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be One "deprecates" and will "discountenance, the other will "resist"-a stronger word, with a broader meaning. One will discountenance

a renewal of the agitation of the questions settled by the Compromise and Fugitive Law ; the other will resist the renewal of "the agitation of the Slavery Question, under whatever shape The Whig resolve does not exclude agita-

tion in regard to slavery in the District, the coastwise slave trade, claims on Congress for indemnity for slaves, the bearings of slavery on the question of the annexation of Cuba, on the possible dismemberment of Mexico, and the future annexation of its Northern States; the Compromise relating to the boundary of or on the policy sometimes attempted to be brought to the attention of Congress, of colonizing the free people of color. But the Democratic resolve does exclude all this, by its pledge to "resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the Slavery Question, under whatever shape or color.

The Whig resolve does not deprecate, or pledge the party to discountenance, the agita-

of the pro-slavery members of Congress was bidding slavery be declared in force, or null religious question; but the Democratic resolve does, in the comprehensive, unqualified term, under whatever shape or color.

and, as such, are at war with the Constitution of the United States, the fundamental docspirit of the age. Those who voted for and now sustain them, whatever their intention, are enemies of the cause of Freedom, and allies equal to their will, American citizens would be cide that the lex loci against slavery being still subjects of Louis Napoleon. But they are as in force, it cannot exist in the Territories. foolish as they are criminal. Both Convension, or correct abuse. Can such amendments prompt response in Congress to the Democratic resolutions was a powerful speech by Mr. Ranfar as to bring an application to Congress from of valuable mines, requiring hard labor and toul against the constitutionality of the Fugion the subject? And do you think you can Tom's Cabin? The very men who have conresolutions, will force you to disregard them for they are the real agitators. Who but they forced you to make an issue on the finality o certain laws respecting Slavery, which no member of Congress had moved to repeal? And who but they will, whenever it pleases them, force upon you a sectional, Slavery issue thereby arousing and provoking the Anti-Slavery sentiment of the country?

But we take your resolve as the evidence not of what you can do, but of what you would. By your intention, not your performwill be owing to Nature and the Providence of ance, the People will judge you, and the time will God, not to the virtue, the firmness, or sagacity yet come when what you have resolved, but not eccomplished, will cover you with infamy.

### WHIG NATIONAL CONVENTION.

This Convention met in Baltimore, Wednes day, 16th, in the great hall of the Mechanics' Institute. Delegates representing every State n the Union were in attendance. South Carolina, containing scarcely a vestige of the Whig party, and Georgia, in which that party has been disorganized, both took good care to be represented. As usual, the Southern States, nderstanding the power of numbers, sent many more representatives than they were entitled to, who, by acclamations or hisses, could strengthen what they favored or weaken what they disapproved.

As a part of the history of the movement we must not forget another Convention, sectional in character, assembled for the purpose ostensibly of nationalizing the National Convention. The delegates from the slaveholding States, having generally congregated in Washington a few days before the time appointed, held a meeting at which was appointed a committee to adopt resolutions expressive of the doctrines of the Whig party. The committee reported to a meeting of all the delegates from said States, held at Carroll Hall, Baltimore, the evening before the Convention

On motion of Senator Dawson, John G. Chap man of Maryland, was chosen Chairman, and R. A. Upton of Louisiana, Secretary. Every Southern Caucus, to prepare business for the National Convention. The resolutions reported were referred to a full meeting of the friends of the Compromise, held Wednesday morning. by that meeting, approved and ordered to be referred to the National Convention, with a request that they be submitted for consideration. to a Committee on Resolutions, to be composed of one delegate from each State in the Union. and that their adoption be respectfully but ear. nestly recommended.

So the caucus of Southern delegates not only volunteered its services to prepare a platform for the National Whig party, but considerately prescribed the way in which the Convention should proceed to adopt it!

In another place we shall have occasion t

It was the intention of the Compromisers t get the control of the Convention from the first and anticipating by five minutes the hour of twelve, the time fixed for the organization of the meeting, Mr. Morgan of Maryland rose to call the Convention to order, but at the same noment Simeon Draper of New York was on his feet, and taking the word out of the mouth of Mr. Morgan, proposed the name of George Evans of Maine, as temporary President, put his motion to vote, and declared it carried. Mr. Upton of Louisiana, and Mr. Bryan of North Carolina, were appointed Secretaries. Mr. Sevier, of Louisiana, protested against all action by the Convention, as the hour of twelve had ot yet arrived : but his protest passed unheeded and a Committee of one from each delegation was appointed to present permanent officers for the Convention. A Committee similarly constituted was appointed on Credentials; the meeting then, amidst a storm of noes, resolved to adjourn till the evening.

In the evening the Committee on Organiza tion made its report. As the Committee or Credentials had not yet reported, nobody could say who ought to vote, and Mr. Sherman of Ohio moved, therefore, that the report lie on resolutions of the two Conventions respecting the table till the credentials were reported on. Immediately an excited debate sprang up, in which delegates from Ohio took an active part, Mr. Ashmun of Massachusetts, and Mr. Botts of Virginia, striving to act as peace-makers. Scott men, the gentleman recommended for permanent President being an anti-Scott man. At last by a rising vote, 380 voting in the affirmative, (just 85 more than the legitimate number of voters) the Convention agreed to take the vote on the report by States. The call for the States was then withdrawn, and the report was adopted by acclamation. John G. Chapman, Chairman of the Southern caucus, was chosen permanent President of the Convention; R. A. Upton of Louisiana, Secretary of the Southern caucus, was chosen first Secretary of the Convention. A Vice President from every State was elected, and eleven more Secretaries were chosen. Thus the Compromisers, through the provident care of the Southern caucus, at last obtained the control of the organization. The convention then adjourned.

The next day, Thursday, the following reseutions were adopted, on motion of Mr. Botts of Virginia:

Resolved. That in every vote upon which

ivision shall be ordered, each State shall be entitled to as many votes, and no more, as such State is entitled to in the Electoral College. "Resolved, That the rules of the House of Representatives be adopted as the rules of this Convention, so far as the same shall be appli-

agreed upon by Southern delegates, the only men who acted in concert and understood what they were about, Mr. Duncan of Louisiana introduced the following resolutions:

"Resolved. That a committee, to con one member from each State in the Union represented in this Convention, be appointed, whose duty it shall be to draft a series of reso-

lutions expressive of the sentiment of the I believe it stood upon principle, and because Whigs of the Union on the great doctrines cherished by them, or otherwise a platform of principles to be maintained by the Whigs in These resolves are in the nature of pledges

Resolved, That the members of said committee be selected by the delegation of each State—each State represented appointing its own member, and the committee to appoint its own chairman.
"Resolved, That this Convention will not pro-

ceed to ballot for or otherwise nominate a candidate for President or Vice President, until said committee have reported, and this Convention shall have taken final action on said re-

Mr. Van Trump of Ohio was surprised that such resolutions should be brought forward at this stage of the Convention. Everything was enthusiasm. confusion-the Committee on Credentials had not reported-it was not known what delegates had a right to vote. Action on the resolutions under the circumstances would be unprecedented and outrageous.

Mr. Dunean coolly informed him that he was no less surprised at the opposition raised by the gentleman from Ohio. For his part, he, but still more remarkable for kicking int was willing to show his hand, and he was de- them. Mr. Jesup, as soon as the journal had termined to make others show theirs. He wished to know with whom he was to act.

Mr. Ashmun of Massachusetts said that he knew nothing of the intention to offer the resolutions now before the Convention. [Why should he? Southern men trust little to the North. | He thought it would be injurious to press action upon them, so long as any large portion of the Convention desired their postonement, until the case of contested elections

Mr. Cabell of Florida thought the third reso lution should be laid over till the report from the Committee on Credentials had been received; but there could not be the slightest objection to the first two resolutions.

Mr. Van Trump was caught by this cunning movement, and expressed a wish to modify his motion. He asked a division of the question, and then moved that so much of the resolutions as relates to making a platform before the nomination be laid upon the table. Several Southern members sustained this motion, and Mr. Duncan finally withdrew the last resolution. Mr. Van Trump doubtless thought he had gained a point; but the truth was, the first resolution was that which proposed the appointment of a committee on a platform. The assage of that would really decide the struggle. Southern men understood this, but Northern men were obtuse. This resolution was adopted, on a vote by States, as follows:

Ayes-New Hampshire 5, Vermont 5, Massachusetts 13, Rhode Island 4, Connecticut 6, Pennsylvania 27, Delaware 3, Maryland 8, Virginia 14, North Carolina 10, South Carolina 8, Georgia 10, Alabama 9, Mississippi 7, Louisiana 6, Ohio 1, Kentucky 12, Tennessee 12, Illinois 11, Missouri 9, Arkansas 4, Florida 3, Texas 4, Iowa 4, California 4—199.

Nocs—Maine 8, New York 35, New Jersey
7, Ohio 22, Indiana 13, Michigan 6, Wisconsin

The Pennsylvania delegates, although said

to be for Scott, and against a platform, went for the resolution en masse, Governor Johnston along with them. All the New England States, with the exception of Maine, wheeled into line with the Slaveholding. Mr. Webster has done a great work for his

The second resolution coming up, Mr. Jesup of Pennsylvania moved to amend by adding-

And that in said committee each member be authorized to east the number of votes to which said State is entitled in the Electoral College." lost by the anti-platform men. It was not probable that the resolutions to be reported by the Committee, could be substantially amended in the Convention-so that

whatever was necessary to prevent the adoption of the Compromise, must be done in Committee. As all the slave States, and a few of the free States, were in favor of the finality test, it was certain that it would be incorporated in the platform, unless the States could have a voice in-the Committee in proportion to the number of votes to which they were entitled in the Electoral College. Mr. Jesup, however, merely stated in gene

ral terms, that as the important business of the Convention was to be transacted in Convention, it was but an act of justice to the larger States, that they should have their proper representation in these Committees.

The vote was taken by States, and Mr. Jesup's amendment was adopted-yeas 149. nays 143. Rhode Island, Iowa, and all the slave States, except Delaware, voted nay. New Hampshire and Vermont each gave 1 vote in the affirmative, and 4 in the negative; Massachusetts 3 in the affirmative, 10 in the negative: Connecticut 2 in the affirmative, 4 in the negative; Wisconsin 1 in the affirmative, 3 in the negative; California 2 in the affirmative, 2 in the negative.

The resolution as amended was then read

" Resolved. That the members of the commit tee shall be selected by the delegation from each State, each State represented appointing its own member, and the committee to appoint its own chairman; and in the said committee each member be authorized to cast the number of votes to which said State is entitled in the Electoral College."

Mr. Ewing moved to amend the resolution as amended by substituting in lieu thereof the "That the committee shall consist of on delegate from each State, selected by the dele

gation from each State. Mr. Jesup moved to amend the substitute by adding thereto the same clause which on his notion was added to the resolution of Mr. Duncan. A heated debate sprang up, and it soon became evident that the Southern delegates were determined at all hazards to defeat the movement of Mr. Jesup. After several speeches from other delegates, Mr. Dawson of

Georgia, who is always pleading for peace in the tone of a warrior, said-"It is with extreme regret that I rise to say a word to the Covention. I trust that we will all speak with met excitement, and act with the utmost deliberation. I agree with my friend from Virginia that this is the first attempt which has ever been made to convert this country into the wildest kind of democracy the democracy of numbers. Here, for the first time in the history of the country, the large States of the Union presume to control the sovereignty of the States. Sir, the principle which is now contended for will uproot your Constitution, and declare that the relatively independent character of the States shall be prostrated to numbers. According to the Contitution the little State of Delaware or Rhode Island, in one of whose seats I am now sitting overeignty as either of the great States of New York, Pennsylvania, or Ohio. [Reiterated cheering. And yet some of the conservative party of the country desire to proclaim that numbers shall govern, and not the sovereignty of the States. [Deprecation.] I know that this matter has not been properly considered by the Whig party. [Applause.] "This is a great question, a question of pow-er, and shows the necessity of a rigid adher-

ence to the Constitution, in order to preserve liberty and independence of the the wildest effort that ever was made to alienate one section of the country from the other. Now, sir, let me ask, shall a portion of the sovereign rights of the country be governed by new modes and laws, when the sovereignty of the States are represented by delegat

"I have always belonged to the Whig party

country to desert the principles on which the

Confederacy was founded; and whenever abandons those great principles, so help r God I will abandon it. [Great applause] ority of numbers, and the three great States

of New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, seem to seek this position in this country.
"I will not trespass upon the time of the Con vention by stating all—Interruption by load cries of "Go on," 'go on,' and much applause

and cheering."1 And so they kept him going on in the sam strain, the outsiders blowing up a tempest of

Without deciding the question, the Conver tion adjourned.

The next day, (Friday,) the first movement showed that the Northern delegates had "be come conscious of a change." Their wrath is always greater than their endurance. They are remarkable for kicking out of the traces been read, rose and said :

"I am constrained to say that I have been

led to believe that the object which I desire to promote, and which I apprehend those who roted originally for the amendment desired to promote, cannot be accomplished by insisting upon that amendment. I therefore ask leave withdraw it.
"No objection being made, the amendm

was withdrawn. The question then recurred on the substitute of Mr. Ewing for the resolution of Mr. Dun-can, as it had been amended on motion of Mr.

Jesup.
"And the question having been taken there

The resolutions, as thus adopted, are in the

following words:

"Resolved, That a committee to consist of one member from each State of the Union represented in this Convention, be appointed whose duty it shall be to draught a series of resolutions expressive of the sentiments of the Whigs of the Union on the great doctrines cherished by them; or, otherwise, a platform of principles to be maintained by the Whigs in

the coming contest.

"Resolved, That the committee shall consist of one delegate from each State, elected by the delegation of said State."

The following gentlemen were then name as constituting the Committee:

"Wm. P. Fessenden, Maine; Thomas M Edwards, New Hampshire: Carlos Coblidge Vermont; George Ashmun, Massachusetts Silas Harris, Rhode Island: A. G. Hazard, Con necticut; A. B. Dickinson, New York; Wm L. Dayton, New Jersey; Wm. F. Johnston Pennsylvania; J. M. Clayton, Delaware; Wm B. Clarke, Maryland: Robert D. Scott, Vi ginia.; Nathaniel Boyden, North Carolina; G Bryan, South Carolina; Wm. C. Dawson Georgia; C. L. Langton, Alabama; A. B. Bradford, Mississippi; P. B. Duncan, Louisiana; J. A. Harris, Ohio; Odando Brown, Kentucky; F. K. Zollicoffer, Tennessee; John S Newman, Indiana: David J. Baker. Illinois A. B. Chambers, Missouri; Thomas S. James Arkansas; George E. Pomeroy, Michigan Wm. T. Davis, Florida: John B. Ashe, Texas S. M. Ballard, Iowa; Alexander Spaulding Wisconsin; W. F. Stewart, California."

And so the State of South Carolina, which never casts a Whig vote, and contains scarcely the vestige of a Whig party, was allowed the same voice in framing the Whig platform, as New York, which in the last Presidential plection east thirty-five votes for the Whig candi-

Everything having succeeded thus far, ac cording to the wishes of the Southern caucus its resolutions were now presented by Mr. Allen of Tennessee, who said-

tions. These delegations, he said, were wedded to any particular form, but their printions he presented. He asked that they referred to the committee just appointed.

resolutions drawn up by the Southern delega-

The resolutions, without being read, were so Several other sets of resolutions were offered

and referred, without debate. Mr. Davis moved a resolution, pledging the Convention to support no man as a candidate for President or Vice President, who by his public acts and recorded opinions has left any grounds for misunderstanding as to his opinions on the Compromise. This was aimed at Scott, and was received with laughter and hisses. Mr. Botts immediately moved a substitute, to the purport that the Convention would support in good faith whoever might be the nominees. At last, Mr. Davis was permit ted to withdraw his resolution

The Committee on Credentials made a re port, which was read :

"Its first recommendation consists of the fo owing resolution: Resolved. That the delegation appointed by the Whigs of the city of Washington be invited by the presiding officer to seats within the bar of the Convention.

"This resolution was adopted, and the delegation from the District of Columbia were in vited to seats within the har. "The committee further reported in regard

of New York, James W. Beekman was entitled to sit, and not Wm. L. Chardlow That - Baxter was elected from the third district of Vermont, contrary to the usages o the Whig party of that State, and that he is not entitled to a seat in this Convention. "In relation to the eighth district of New

York, the committee report that Moses Grinnell, having received the regular vote of the district, is entitled to a seat in this Convention, and that Thomas Dornell is not. "That Wm. Blakely, jr., who claims to be elected from the ninth district of New York, is not duly elected; and have come to the conclu

sion that Theodore H. Benedict is duly return ed a delegate from that district. "In the case of the eleventh district of Nex York, the Convention having been composed of ten delegates, five of whom voted for Jacob Hardenburg, and five for Joseph M. Smith, and that peither of them are entitled to a seat, but resolved that both be admitted to seats, with privilege of easting one vote in all cases in

which they can agree. [Much laughter.]
"That Charles A. Randall, claiming to b elected from the twenty-seventh district of New York, is the proper delegate, and Charles Cook, contestant, is not entitled to a seat in the Con-"In the matter of the thirty-first district of

the State of New York, the committee report in favor of the claims of Albert A. Bennett and against those of A. Cone. "That the four gentlemen elected as alternates from California be entitled to seats on the floor of the Convention, but be not entitled

Baxter of Vermont, and in favor of several of the New York delegates rejected by the ma

Neither report was read through, but Mr Cabell moved that the majority report be adopt ed, and on that motion called the previous question. Mr. Dickinson of New York asked him to withdraw it, to allow a hearing in favor of the delegates sustained by the minority re-port, but he refused. Mr. Jesup renewed the request, but with no better success. On motion of Mr. Vinton of Onio, the vote on seconding the demand for the previous question was taken

Ayes—New Hampshire 5. Vermont 4, Massachusetts 12, Rhode Island 4, Connecticut 4, New York 4, New Jersey 1, Pennsylvania 2, Maryland 8, Virginia 12, North Carolina 10, South Carolina 8, Georgia 10, Alabama 9, Tenneste 12, Tenn South Carolina 8, Georgia 10, Alabama 9, Mississippi 7, Louisiana 6, Kentucky 12, Tennessee 12, Indiana 7, Illinois 2, Missouri 5, Arkansas 4, Mischigan 1, Florida 3, Texas 4, Iowa 4, Wisconsin 3, California 1—164.

Nocs—Maine 8, Vermont 1, Massachusetts 1, Connecticut 2, New York 24, New Jersey 6, Pennsylvania 25, Delaware 3, Virginia 1, Ohio

by Sates, as follows :